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Havasupai

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION, NOVEMBER 1, 1919

Age	Males	Females	Age	Males	Females
1	5	5	35	1	2
2	4	1	36	..	1
3	6	2	38	1	..
4	..	1	39	8	2
5	2	2	41	..	1
6	..	1	43	1	1
7	6	7	44	6	1
8	2	2	45	1	..
9	3	2	47	1	..
10	2	2			
11	..	3	48	1	..
12	1	1	49	1	4
13	1	2	50	..	1
14	..	3	53	..	1
15	2	1	54	2	1
16	2	1	55	1	2
17	2	..	59	2	1
19	..	2	64	1	..
20	1	1	67	1	..
21	3	..	69	3	3
22	1	1	70	..	1
23	1	1	71	2	..
24	..	1	74	1	..
25	2	..	75	..	1
26	..	1	79	1	3
27	4	2	83	1	1
28	1	..	85	..	1
29	4	..	90	..	1
30	2	..	92	1	..
32	1	1	94	..	1
34	3	3	Totals	98	79

There are forty-two camps, or family units, in the village, which would give an average of 4.2 persons to the family, or adding nineteen women to allow for the shortage, 4.7 persons. It is difficult to estimate the number of families exactly,[1] because their composition is constantly changing, particularly by way of merging into larger family groups. At any rate these figures agree fairly well with the size of our own family, and with those of the Pueblos with an average of barely five, excepting Zuñi, where there are 7.5 per family.[2]

[1] In 1776 Garcés estimated that the number did not exceed thirty-four (Coues, 348).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 129–134.

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The structure of these larger family groups is transparent; a group of sons reside in houses adjacent to their parents' home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. They share a common livelihood; father and sons work their undivided fields with their wives' assistance; the new son-in-law works with his wife's father until he breaks off to return to his boyhood home. A common residence and livelihood makes for a common hearth, constant association, and the feeling that such relatives form one big family. Undoubtedly the shortage of active women has intensified the situation, but I doubt that it has created a new condition.[1] 592

Unattached relatives, widowers and widows (*alatá*, also an infrequent word for spoiled, awry), are found in the households of their nearest blood relatives. Orphans (*hámadalatá*, boy; *mésádalatá*, girl; terms not applied to half orphans) are raised by the relatives of either parent, preferably by a parent's sibling, without prejudice to the interests in the child of the relatives on the other side of the house. Thus, Edgar has lived for several years with Watahomidja, his maternal grandfather, at the same time receiving the gifts of his father's mother and brother. 592 736

There is also a tendency toward the formation of still larger groups. This first came to my notice at the dance in 1918, where it was apparent that those from the south end of the village were seated in one group, those from the north end in a second, and families from the central portion formed a third. The division was not absolute, but it was sufficiently marked to be noticeable. The reason for the grouping will appear in the sequel (227, 231), whence it seems that these divisions are the result of relationship and land inheritance, marriage among neighbors, and neighborly interest and cohesion. 621 ●

Kinship

The individual is oriented among his tribesmen by his relationships. His family is for him a group of kinsmen; beyond them are more distant relatives and in the outer circle the unrelated members of the tribe. 602

To the question who are kinsmen the answer comes patly enough, blood relatives, but blood relatives are always a group defined by arbitrary limits. This must be particularly true of the Havasupai. Presumably the group never rose in numbers much over 250. I gather that during the last century and a half there were comparatively few intermarriages with foreign tribes, even with the Walapai. Under these conditions everyone must bear innumerable and comparatively close relationships 602 621 [648]

[1] I have shown elsewhere (*A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*) how a clan system might easily arise from the Havasupai situation.

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602 to all his tribesmen. Yet only a fraction are recognized as blood rela-
621 tives, although a community of blood is felt for all. Mark Hanna enumerated 74 persons related to him by blood and 17 relatives by marriage in a population of 177. Jess Cheekapanyega, his nephew, recognized 93 connections by blood and 6 by marriage. Other relationships, of which they were only vaguely aware, came to light while working out the genealogies with them. Terms which express relationship subsume under a single caption a variety of relatives whose actual blood connections differ. I have tried in the following paragraphs to define the limits within which kinsmen are recognized and the relationships in which they are conceived to stand.

Relationship terms were obtained from six men and women who
601 should have been competent. Yet all of them fell short of certainty with
602 relationships outside of the immediate family. This was true not only in working over hypothetical cases but with living relatives as well. All hesitated and gave conflicting answers for the cross-cousin's children, for greatgrandchildren, and for brother's and sister's grandchildren. This experience is a familiar one and undoubtedly this accounts for the gaps under these headings in Morgan's schedules. Men were less able to give the more remote relationships used by women than were the women themselves. Both Mark and Jess displayed some hesitation in giving the terms by which they addressed those relatives with whom they infrequently came in contact, although they knew readily enough to whom they were related. It was still more difficult for them to give the terms by which these people responded. Both had frequently to confer with their relatives. Apparently the chief reason for this uncertainty
551 lies in the free use of names both in direct address and by way of refer-
601 ence. Kinship terms are comparatively little used and where the relative stands at such remote degree that the blood connection is not obvious there is even a more effective reason for neither learning nor remembering the appropriate designation. This, it will be recognized, is unusual among American tribes, where kinship terms are used more commonly than names.

601

nɛ́pofigà	father's father
mótigà	father's mother
nágwadigà	mother's father
nágof igà	mother's mother
djttaf igà, djttá	father
djtdjf igà, djtdjí'	mother
nowígà	father's older brother
nidjafigà	father's younger brother, a woman's male cross-cousin and his son,

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DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgi*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. 527 535 [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. [648] 527 571 621 [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe. 101 648 [582]

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly. 197

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes. 174

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven. 174 621

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans. 101 114 171

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about 101 114 172

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped ●621 and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built 592 upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a [562] woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and [591] temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by [177] nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under 596 modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less
574 contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than
593 he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then
602 frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members
●621 gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal
603 grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence
[591] group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband
[848] seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or
[591] who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their individual fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 962
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [482]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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423 planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[422 his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425 as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Problems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually
●621 argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.